

# AFTER THE "CEASE FIRE"

## Humanity's revolt against its shackles

# PEACE NEWS

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### PRISON CAMP FOR GERMAN C.O.s

FORTY-ONE survivors were found by US troops in a camp for conscientious objectors near the German city of Wewelsburg, said an AP report in Saturday's Evening Standard.

How many prisoners there were originally is not yet known. The camp was operated by SS troops and also served as a crematorium.

(An emergency resolution on the subject passed at the PPU annual general meeting is reported on page 5.)

### Quaker relief-workers at Belsen

A team of twelve workers of the Friends Relief Service are doing relief work, alongside British Red Cross teams, at Belsen concentration camp.

The team, led by Lillian Impey of Colchester, left Britain recently for Holland. When in Belgium, however, they were asked if they would help in Germany.

### Operation on J. Middleton Murry

John Middleton Murry, Editor of Peace News, underwent a major operation last Friday.

We know that readers all over the country will be relieved to learn that he is reported to be making excellent progress, and will join us in sending him warmest wishes for a speedy and complete recovery.

(Before going into hospital Mr. Murry wrote an article summarizing the correspondence he received following the recent publication in PN of a letter from Mr. and Mrs. Mottram, maintaining that the paper was "too political" and had departed from the spirit of Dick Sheppard. The article appears on page 5.)

## MINISTRY STOPS FOOD GIFTS FOR HOLLAND

A first-hand account of conditions in liberated Holland, by a PPU member, appears on the back page.

DESPITE the Ministry of Food's ban on the export of food by private individuals and private organizations, some bodies concerned with the urgent need in liberated Holland have continued to receive gifts from individuals—and, in at least one case, from a PPU group. They include two organizations mentioned in a letter in the News Chronicle on Apr. 19.

On learning of this, the Ministry of Food has now told the organizations in question that such gifts are not allowed, and that the ban on their export remains.

But the Ministry of Food section of the Civil Service Clerical Association, at its annual conference at Southport passed a resolution on Apr. 23, regretting that better arrangements had not been made to provide food for the people of liberated countries, and calling on the Government to take immediate steps to deal with the present situation in France, Belgium, Holland, and Italy.

Mr. C. J. Humphries, of Coventry, chairman of the executive, expressed disappointment that their own department had refused to provide facilities for sending food which people in this country had agreed voluntarily to do without. He hoped the Ministry

### WHERE PACIFISTS STAND NOW

"IN ALL SOLEMNITY AND, I HOPE, IN ALL HUMILITY WE STAND WHERE WE DID—BUT WITH A DEEPER SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY."

In these words Dr. George MacLeod, leader of the Iona Community, answered the question put to him in the light of military victory: "Where do you stand now? Have you pacifists any contribution left to make?"

Dr. MacLeod was speaking to an audience of over a thousand common man. Last, the outpacing by science of man's moral power. No peace would endure which could not reverse these processes.

Despite the inadequacy of the statesmen at San Francisco, some measure of order was better than anarchy, but the task of peace-makers was one of democratic vigilance, together with a steady leavening influence, for in the last resort redemption from war depended on the moral and spiritual qualities of men and women.

Pacifists must be ready to make their faith world-wide. The tragedy of the moment of victory was the spirit of disillusion and loss of faith. But from that, people might turn to those who have held throughout that war was not the right way.

### FAITH IN HUMANITY

"We are meeting," said Vera Brittain, "in days more fateful than the world has known for a thousand years." Even amid cynicism and hatred people desperately wanted to have their faith in humanity reinforced, to know that men were capable of good as well as evil.

Our chief job was to increase the consciousness of mankind. We must evoke questions and seek to answer them. Action was only valid when based on knowledge.

It had been easy to suggest that we had only to defeat German aggression, but this ignored the larger problem of the revolutionary situation which had produced two world wars.

Vera Brittain thought it had four main causes. First, the break-up of the mediaeval unity of Christianity, with the consequent growth of State-churches. Second, the rise of rival nation-States and imperialism. Third, the failure of capitalism to provide security and a decent life for the

an audience of over a thousand common man. Last, the outpacing by science of man's moral power. No peace would endure which could not reverse these processes.

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### THE HUMAN SPIRIT

Prof. Tom Finnegan, of Magee College, Londonderry, coming as he said, "from an atmosphere slightly less frenzied than over here," felt that the war had done grave injury to the human spirit. After Munich there had been a revival of the human spirit although, regrettably, war was the only form it could take. But despite the heroism, we were living in an atmosphere of sub-truth and had less imaginative sympathy than before.

The human spirit revolts against its shackles, although the revolt might take the form of cynicism or inaction.

The inseparable connexion between war and peace had not been clearly enough recognized, and the pacifist movement had made a good contribution in mitigating the methods used in war.

It was scarcely "realism" to suppose that the five great Powers would long agree, and "idealism" had been relegated to the past. The hope was that people themselves would do the job if Governments were incapable of it.

Evil was no new thing. Good had survived, not because of war, but because of a line of great men. Some had been martyred—but not destroyed.

### A VITAL FAITH

Dr. George MacLeod said there was not one of us who was not indebted to military victories. If the pacifist witness was to be heard we must speak with responsibility. Christians could not grant a short perspective of history. "It is now expedient to rejoice," said Dr. MacLeod, "but to rejoice quickly, for once you are led by expediency you become its slave and you will not rejoice for long."

The historic justification for pacifism was one which a vital faith alone could undersign. Christianity was moving from institutionalism back to organism. The reign of outwardly accepted moral law was falling and not all the Vatican horses nor all the oecumenical men could put it back again.

For four centuries Christianity was an organism concerned with the totality of man. If not communist, at least it regarded as of first import the economic welfare of every brother. If not pacifist, it equally regarded his life. Through the centuries a balance had first been set and more recently destroyed.

"I believe it well within the deeper purposes of God that pacifism still has legal rights within this land—that this final human outpost of Western culture, its navy and its pacifism, may be fashioning His newer purpose. Thousands in the Army and Navy would not laugh at that," said Dr. MacLeod.

But if that were so, what responsibility pacifists bore not to be cheap, nor to batten on war-weary returning men with flaccid superficial argument. If the night came down we could be certain that our land could never afford again to have pacifists legally in its midst.

### Commentary

## A NEW BATTLE

by "ARGUS"

NO one, whatever his convictions, will fail to share the general heartfelt gratitude that in Europe, at any rate, the organized mass-slaughter is reaching its end.

Death in many guises will probably continue to stalk the Continent, but we may hope it will soon be against the intentions of those responsible for the administration of affairs.

To some degree, an oppressive weight is being lifted off the shoulders of mankind. Dare we hope this is only a beginning, and that this time man will rise to his full stature and step out of the bloody mire of war and tyranny into which he has fallen?

We shall have some idea of the answer to that question when we see how this civilization deals with the mess it has made.

### "Tormented Europe"

ON the other side of the world the other war continues, swallowing up men and material which Europe so badly needs. True statesmanship would seek to end this clash of rival empires, rather than allow the slogan of "unconditional surrender" to leave another trail of spent human lives and desolated human habitations.

Europe presents us with a task and a hideous warning. "Tormented Europe," a leader in The Times called it on Monday. In Germany itself there is almost complete collapse, and "its consequences will be felt throughout Europe." Fourteen towns in the neighbourhood of the Ruhr, reported the same source on Saturday, "shattered to their foundations... lie spectral and morose in the rubble and ashes." An American forces paper describes how these conditions in Cologne made it "a spawning ground for lice... everywhere there was typhus fever."

Truly might The Times' leader declare:

"The state of the Continent is now so precarious that there can be no pause of preparation for the tasks ahead such as succeeded the fighting in 1918... The battle to be fought will be one of order against chaos."

The question of who is to blame for these conditions is irrelevant. The desperate need is to remedy them. Only the Allies now possess the means to do so. They must not shelve their responsibility. The new battle must begin now, and its strategists must not forget to treat Europe as a whole.

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

### A.G.M. and H.Q.F.

DISCUSSING finance at AGM, a member suggested that our fortnightly paragraph in "appeal corner" of PN should be discreetly hidden inside the paper. It was bad journalistic practice to set financial appeals on the front page; and the trivial results announced merely exposed our failure. Whether the latter was attributable to bankruptcy of our ideas or of our readers' pockets we were not quite clear. Probably a bit of both! We would mention, however, that, despite the front-page display and other weaknesses, HQ appeal brought in last year a total of £578.

Opinion was further expressed that our finances were in a precarious condition. If there is truth in that, it only emphasizes our need of the contribution made by HQF.

We should welcome the comments or criticism of any readers who care to write to us on the above subject, especially if the criticism is of a constructive nature, conducive to increasing PPU income and opportunities. One of our friends, unable himself to take part personally in the discussion on accounts, thought of a highly practical alternative form of contribution. "I am sorry that I cannot be present," he said, "but take this for your fund." It was a 10s. note.

### MAUD ROWNTREE CORDER CATCHPOOL

Joint Treasurers

Contributions to HQ Fund since Apr. 20: £5 2s. 6d. Year's total to date: £135 9s. 9d. Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

### Wilkins back in Britain

W. R. Wilkins, the Brighton CO who was sentenced to five years penal servitude by court-martial in Italy, has been brought back to this country and is now in a military prison and detention barracks in Scotland.

The Central Board for COs, which for some time has been pressing for his return, is still urging the War Office through a sympathetic MP to allow Wilkins to appear before the Advisory Tribunal. Normally COs have only been allowed to do so following offences committed in this country.



# PEACE NEWS

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## THE GUILT

THE Daily Mirror includes "The Peace Pledge Union" in the comprehensive list of "hundreds, nay thousands" which it demands, somewhat rhetorically, should visit Nazi concentration camps. If the assumption is that pacifists are, as a body, sceptical of the full depth of Nazi depravity we believe and hope that it is false.

It is true that pacifists are reluctant to believe that anyone is capable of calculated and sustained inhumanity. Moreover, they recall the evidence of Lord Ponsonby that the national enemy in time of war is commonly beaten with the most dubious sticks. Perhaps, also, pacifists who have sought to establish a basis of negotiation with the Nazi régime have underplayed its diabolical ruthlessness in comparison with its impulse towards some sort of European unity.

Yet pacifists were energetic in bringing the very existence of these camps to public notice while it was still politically unpopular—in the days when they were reserved for German opponents of the Nazis. Pacifists rescued human beings from them, and helped the often friendless "Stateless aliens" who reached this country. Some who are now righteously indignant were then anxious to regard these same atrocities as an internal German concern which must not be allowed to jeopardise international relations.

It was never part of the pacifist case to deny the existence of atrocities: on the contrary, the new lease of life which war gives to the brutal and the sadistic is a valid argument against it. And in the present case the process of war has immensely widened the scope and scale of Nazi barbarity.

To apportion responsibility is a fruitless yet absorbing task. Fruitless, for there are too many unknowns and crucial evidence is not available; absorbing, for some assessment of guilt is relevant to the treatment of Germany. What is to be done with the exterminators, in the present state of psychotherapy?

In what sense is the Bavarian peasant responsible for Belsen? Correspondents on the spot admit their perplexity. Christopher Buckley cannot reconcile the callousness of the camp thugs

"with the docility of the bulk of the German people. It would be easy to say that it is the docility and servility of a people conscious of national guilt. All I can say is that it does not feel like that... the will to obey gives the impression of being born out of a genuine desire to be friendly." (Daily Telegraph, Apr. 26.)

Probably it is. "National guilt" is a fantastic abstraction. Apathy and political indifference—however damnable in their effect—are much nearer to the known human reality.

We must resist the temptation to set a standard of heroism for the ordinary German which we know in our imagination we, with incomparably firmer democratic tradition, could not ourselves fulfil.

"If I had been a German citizen who knew these facts and who knew that a breath, a whisper, of protest would have meant that my own children would have been in Buchenwald the next morning, I would not have had the courage to do anything." (Mr. S. S. Silverman, Apr. 25.)

Who could soberly say otherwise? But these words puncture the "national guilt" bubble the more effectively for coming from a Jewish MP on his return from the tour of Buchenwald.

Against this we must put the more popular and disgraceful line, typified by Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, of streamlining a complex problem into national and racial generalizations. One should not be shocked at Mrs. Luce doubting, as she stood amid German victims of torture, "whether there is any good in any of the German people." In the recent Congressional elections the chief argument she advanced against Mr. Sidney Hillman was the iniquity of "a Russian Jewish pants-presser" influencing American policy. One should not be shocked: but one should recognize these utterances for what they are. Not anti-Nazism, but inverted Nazism. The *Herrenvolk* idea is still damnable when it is upended and the heroes and villains interchanged.



## P.P.U. holds its eighth annual meeting

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION WAS HELD IN FRIENDS HOUSE, LONDON, LAST WEEK-END. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT ABOUT 1,000 DELEGATES AND MEMBERS WERE PRESENT IN ALL—THOUGH NOT AT EVERY SESSION.

We report below the discussion on the three main resolutions submitted to the meeting by PPU Areas, which took place on Sunday morning.

The text of emergency resolutions and a summary of the proceedings at the two sessions on Saturday, which were mainly devoted to reports on the past year's work, appears on page 5.

### "Seeking a foundation of peace"

ROBERT KING (London Area) moved the first main resolution:

"Welcoming the setting up of the International and Industrial Social Order Committee as one of the most important developments within the PPU during the past year, this AGM instructs the National Council to ensure that the IISOC proceeds as quickly as possible with its work of seeking a foundation of peace, giving special consideration to and reporting on the following points in an attempt to find a basis of policy upon which practical action can be taken.

"1. INTERNATIONAL ORDER. (a) International organization in relation to nationalism, imperialism, federalism. (b) The problem of minorities, refugees, displaced peoples, relief and rehabilitation. (c) Economic order.

"2. INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL ORDER. (a) Political structure—whether democratic and, if so, whether centralized or decentralized. (b) Rights of citizens and their safeguards. (c) Responsibilities of citizens—extent (if any) of compulsion and conscription (short and long-term policies). (d) Ownership of the means of production and distribution. Their control. Financial structure. (e) Status, function and distribution of labour. Its rights and conditions.

"Further, it urges that an international conference of pacifists should be called at the earliest possible moment to discuss these issues in an effort to strengthen international pacifist organization."

He said the IISO committee had been set up, not to save members the trouble of thinking, but to guide their thinking. The resolution was an attempt to indicate questions to which consideration should be given—not to tie the committee down but to bring us out of the sphere of pious hopes into the realm of practical issues.

Bernard Taylor, seconding, said he did not share the view of those who thought that such a basis of policy as that proposed would split the movement. "It is imperative," he said.

"that we get down to the issues which are before us in this resolution. I believe that in attempting to do this sort of thing we are attempting to do what Dick Sheppard had in mind."

A Central London member said we could not have a pledge "hanging in the air." We could not avoid its far-reaching implications—religious, social, and otherwise.

P. Millwood (Hastings) asked whether it was intended to reduce the emphasis on our opposition to war and conscription. We should not be afraid of being negative. He was answered by another member who declared: "We are sick and tired of being in a negative Union," and whose group suggested the circulation of material to groups, for research and thinking, with a questionnaire to send their findings back to the committee.

Wilfred Wellock said he had originally wondered whether the resolution was being propounded on a level of superficial politics, but now he was certain it was intended at a more fundamental level. We had to put before the world the real significance of what was happening today, and also to put forward the alternative.

Rosalind Bevan (Chester) said that the formulation of the spiritual and political prerequisites of peace was complementary to the Pledge, not a substitute for it.

After an Oldbury delegate, Bert Tavener (Northampton), and Ida Hillman (Bournemouth), had all spoken in favour of the resolution, Dennis Davies put the view of IISO Committee. He explained how the committee had divided into two parts, one concerned with immediate issues, and the other with more ultimate questions such as the essential features of a peaceful society. The resolution would bind the committee, piecemeal, to certain subjects. Since the committee was sympathetic to the resolution, and amendment of its wording was difficult, he invited the London Area spokesmen to withdraw their resolution.

Robert King then replied to the discussion. Far from trying to water down our position, he said, his Area was trying to straighten it out. He could not withdraw the resolution.

The resolution was carried by a large majority.

### International pacifism

ERNEST France moved the NW Area resolution instructing National Council to seek "means of building a Pacifist International." As the world moved towards unity there was urgent need for men to act with a sense of the whole, but we should not lay emphasis on "international" at the expense of "pacifist." The post-war years would give Europe breathing space as well as the urge to prevent a repetition of its sufferings. Countries must face whether they can spend half or more of their income on arms when every penny was needed to rebuild their homeland. PPU was the body to take up this task, for other international bodies were not primarily concerned with peace. It was not desired to encroach on the work of WRI, but rather to supplement it.

Richard Bland, seconding, thought it was healthy for PPU and WRI for their relationship to be ventilated. It was time to review the position and see if the machinery was keyed to the pitch for maximum efficiency.

Clarence Fry (Latton) thought the word "pacifist" was ambiguous in Continental minds. We should not dissipate our energies in duplicating the work of the WRI.

Harold Bing (Brockweir) asserted that a pacifist international was already an accomplished fact, though PPU was not well aware of it.

Denis Hayes believed we must reform and rebuild the WRI. There were anomalies, secrecy and even self-righteousness in the working of WRI.

Some of the nationally elected members of the PPU Council for the coming year. Left to right: John Barclay, Humphrey Moore, Donald Port, Richard Lee, Harry Hilditch, Nancy Browne, Winifred Rawlins, Alex Wood (chairman), Frank Dawtry, Sybil Morrison, John Morley, Roy Walker, Minnie Pallister. (Photo: Jack Mayes.)

Other pictures on page 5.

Winifred Rawlins thought the difficulties were mainly of the war period and with our help WRI might work as a genuine international in peace-time.

Reginald Reynolds deprecated the phrase "secrecy and self-righteousness" applied to the WRI. Its officers were not without honour except in their own country.

After a speaker had urged that work among young people was a more practical contribution to international understanding, the AGM suspended Standing Orders in order to accept a Basingstoke amendment. The amended resolution was:

"That this eighth Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union, believing that the urgent need of the present and near future is the re-creation of the international outlook, instructs National Council to seek ways and means of strengthening pacifism internationally."

After the NW Area spokesman had indicated that they would prefer the resolution to be withdrawn rather than amended, a motion for "Previous Question" was put and lost.

The resolution, as amended, was then carried.

### Community and service

ON behalf of Scottish Area, Campbell Wilkie moved the third resolution:

"That this AGM, recognizing the importance of 'Community' and 'Pacifist Service' as expressions of pacifism, asks the National Council to consider in the coming year the means by which further support, financial or otherwise, might be given to both."

He said that those who took an interest in Pacifist Service Units knew that they were passing through a crisis at the moment, and were continually faced with financial difficulties. Communities, too, would be faced with similar difficulties when peace returned. The RPU could help by providing loans and by co-ordinating the work of the various committees.

Allister Steven, seconding, pointed out that the first resolution had taken a political viewpoint, the second combined the political and the individual, and the third started from the individual approach. "Bread for myself is an individual problem," he said, "but bread for my neighbour is a spiritual one, and, since it is a political problem too, politics cannot be divorced from spiritual problems." This, he went on, was intended as an irrelevancy to end all irrelevancies and he appealed to subsequent speakers to keep to the practical measures proposed.

Donald Port, supporting the resolution, said "Community" was something that does, or does not, exist in the neighbourhood in which you live. Through service pacifists had so far made their greatest contribution to community. Pacifist service involved an entirely revolutionary conception of the individual in society and a recognition that capitalism was an essentially coercive system.

John Morley (Newcastle) opposing the resolution, said the service the PPU should be rendering the community at this time was not "communities."

Constance Braithwaite said we should not assume that our social work should be done through our own pacifist organizations. In most branches of such work we had a bond of unity with non-pacifists. Any social service done by pacifists was pacifist service.

A Sheffield member, supporting the resolution, said that such work as that of PSU was one way of showing our social and religious values in our lives.

As the discussion proceeded, with speakers roughly divided on the issue, some asked that there should be separate decisions relating to "community" and "pacifist service," since they felt able to support the proposal with regard to the latter only.

A member of a community pointed out the relevance to pacifism of the practical experience of the problems in peaceful living which community-life involved. He said the PPU as such, however, should not give financial support to individual communities, but should support the spirit behind it.

Replying to the discussion, Campbell Wilkie pointed out that if the resolution was passed National Council would not be bound to more than consideration of the matter. He said that he had used "community" in Wilfred Wellock's and Max Plowman's sense of the word, not in Donald Port's.

Previous question was then put, and defeated.

The resolution was put, and defeated on a show of hands.



## FROM AN AREA ORGANIZER

Frank Sayer reporting from East Anglia . . .

AREA development field-work is encouraging up to a point. One meets some people who are eager to hear what the PPU has done in the war, and one feels the need for a strong PPU everywhere to canalize a lot of spare pacifist energy, which is at present often confined to running Youth Clubs. Discouraging, too, because of the many who are no longer interested and to whom the Peace Pledge was obviously a thing of the moment.

In the small town of six thousand people and with a pre-war signatories list of forty, perhaps there will now be five keen pacifists left—but they can't all meet on the same night, and it's doubtful if the two COs in the next village can come to a meeting. Interested contacts meet for a discussion with the Area Secretary, a selection of literature is sold, and someone agrees to be Contact Member.

"But what's the use of our forming a group? I have the WEA; Mrs. Pears the Girls' Club; the Jacksons are keen but they've just had a baby, and in any case I see them at Friends' Meeting. If we start anything in public the UDC will probably give me the sack. We tried to get a Food Relief meeting, but no one would give us a hall. We can't do any good here."

Places in the mainly rural area often have too few pacifists left to make a group possible. Individual members, lacking comradeship and intellectual stimulus from fellow-pacifists, living where an active part in campaign work is impossible, become apathetic and feel frustrated. Sometimes there is a lonely stalwart who treks round with petitions and leaflets and tackles his neighbours in the local pub; the small-town patriot is often surprisingly hostile to such overt pacifism—the pioneer's reward may be a broken window, a pot of tar, or a drenching from a fire-hose. One CO, on land-work, cycles ten miles and back to attend a group meeting and then spends his half-day taking Peace News round to COs in surrounding villages.

These individual efforts must be supplemented by visits from Area Officers and more comprehensive organization. Area centres are needed for conferences, week-end social gatherings, and retreats.

Often the one-time group member who thinks Peace News was banned in 1940 and that "when the pinch came the PPU acted like everybody else," will remember the original Dick Sheppard meetings, the old publicity van, and will know of people who went to prison. Perhaps no amount of cerebration from Headquarters will move him, but a bold, well-planned campaign will stir his imagination, and he will even follow a study course if it is dovetailed into such a programme.

Most encouraging is the response many thoughtful people are showing to PPU publicity for a just peace and practical food relief schemes. Disillusioned with power-politics, men are re-examining pacifism as a means of actualizing policies of good will—through pacifist service and non-violent resistance to all forms of oppression. We are glad National Council, by sponsoring plans of study, service and public action, is helping us to relate our long-term faith to present-day needs.

## WORDS OF PEACE

No. 123

How many people who are aware of the deep-seated differences to be reconciled can seriously believe that these are likely to be smoothed out by conferences into some higher synthesis, so that the whole world will settle down to a harmonious era of brotherly concord? Rather, we are likely to see a period in which the legacy of hatred and suspicion will raise all sorts of barriers to communication, let alone co-operation, between people.

The immediate task will be one not of settling the affairs of a new heaven and a new earth, but of establishing some modus vivendi which can afford people subsistence, essential liberties and a sense of security, until passions can cool, healing sanity be renewed, and such constructive forces as may be present can have a chance to grow. Moreover, it is from the growth of such forces that the significant ideas may emerge. New possibilities of significant communication may come out of the experience of people who are facing the challenge of reconstruction in different ways, but with moral conviction.

—Dorothy M. Emmet, "The Nature of Metaphysical Thinking" (Macmillan, 1945).

## An Austrian who has been in Dachau and Buchenwald asks: IS GERMAN YOUTH DOOMED?

WITH the end of the second world war drawing near, we have to face the much-discussed problem of our time, the "de-Nazification" process or the re-education of the German Youth.

Hans and Fritz are standing before us. Millions of them. They are heroes no longer; no Iron Crosses second or first class reach them from the Fuehrer. And all secret meetings or sessions of the illegal Youth Movement "Edelweiss" have disappeared.

Most of them have become faithless, to the past and to the future. But they are still living; their brain is still working. Those who have come from daylight into darkness (as they see it) remember Adolf Hitler and his gang, in the sense of "Those good old days. . ."

On the other hand, there are those who suffered under the Nazi regime, but the fact that they are Germans brands them everlastingly in the eyes of the people of Warsaw, Rotterdam, and Lidice and so they will continue to suffer in the Germany of tomorrow.

Can hope still remain when they read what is to be done to Germany?

Can they be re-educated on the principle that they have to rebuild the countries which they destroyed by order of the Fuehrer?

This article is not a defence for criminals, nor have I forgotten the time spent under Gestapo arrest, in the concentration camps of Dachau and Buchenwald. But one who has seen the psychological effect of the Treaty of Versailles, has grown up surrounded by Hitler Youth, and played with their leaders at soldiering in the streets of Berlin, attended lectures at Nazi high school and universities on Oswald Spengler's "Decline of the Western Civilization," must ask the Allied Governments "Why didn't you stop us from playing soldiers? Didn't you see we were playing with fire, long before the conflagration started? Are we alone responsible for the mistakes of the last generation?"

### Example from Italy

The Allies have promised to destroy Nazism and Fascism wherever it occurs. Yet, after 18 months of Allied occupation of Italy, the sign "Viva Duce" has appeared on the walls of Rome again. Have we ever discussed the re-education of the Italian youth? Are 22 years of Fascist education less dangerous than 12 years of Nazi training? In 1937 I was sitting next to the leader of the Balilla, watching an Italian Youth demonstration in the Deutschlandhalle in Berlin. These youngsters did not differ from Hans and Fritz the Jungvolk.

But the subject is German youth. The omission to pay attention to the writing on the walls may cost us heavily in the future. The cities of Germany are lying in ashes. The scorched-earth policy of the Nazi gang have brought the young survivors of the third Reich to a hopeless situation. They are looking for a respite. The "Unconditional Surrender" terms, the heavy reparation and deportation, suggest no re-education, no chance of future freedom. Their exclusion from the international forum of art, science, medicine, music and literature, as so many authorities on re-education have suggested, will be of no help in forming a durable peace.

### Keeping it alive

Nazism would not need to look for a re-birth, it would secretly continue in the minds of those who are lying spiritually in chains.

Every death sentence by an Allied court will create new heroes for the birth of the Fourth Reich. Fritz and Hans would not live for the future, but only for the past, hoping that tomorrow Adolf Hitler will reappear.

Let us face the facts. There is no 1918 today, where the German Army returns to the Heimat, in good order. There will be no Freicorps from which the German officer corps of the last

war could prepare the rebuilding of the Wehrmacht.

The parents, wives, and children, who were waiting for their sons, husbands, and fathers, in 1918, are this time spread over the whole of Germany with no home to which to welcome their beloved one. The Nazis have not only brought misery to the oppressed countries, but have reduced their own people to slavery, subjected them to unbelievable cruelties. By the time the last German military resistance has broken down, the German people will have paid their debts, inside their own borders, for all the crimes their soldiers committed.

The promise from Yalta that the German General staff will be dissolved is a step towards demilitarization of the German nation. The youth, who believed in Frederick the Great, admired Bismarck, and rallied round Adolf Hitler, have lost the psychological opportunity to make Germany great again. And by losing their material goods they have paid for the horrors they once committed.

But can you preach liberty by sending them to slavery? Can you force a generation to rebuild foreign countries whilst their own country is lying in ruins? Why discuss their re-education and "denazification" while condemning them to their own decline?

## WORK-CAMPS

DAY by day it is becoming more disastrously obvious that Western civilization, founded as it was on Christian idealism, has been shaken to its foundations by the war.

Cities ruined from Poplar to Athens, a hundred million people starving or threatened by starvation, the horrors of obliteration bombing, the grisly details of torture and sadism in the concentration-camps—how in such a setting are pity, mercy, good will, the supreme value of the individual however indistinguished, to be established once more?

The Gospel of John, in its thirteenth chapter, records the great final "acted parable" by which Jesus Christ, on the threshold of the Crucifixion, which seemed likely to end his movement for ever, both enunciated these same Christian values and set about the task of "re-educating" into them his treacherous, quarrelsome jealous disciples. He took off his coat, took the jug, basin and towel, and did with his own hands the menial work of a slave for those cowards and double-crossers.

Ample experience has been gained during the last five years by resistance movements, especially in Norway, to show that any attempt to "re-educate" by methods of force a people unwilling to be so treated is bound to result in exactly the opposite result to that intended. Ideals so inculcated will be spurned and derided.

### WHAT other way remains?

Methods of force and the re-education against them have plunged Europe into the present nightmare of horror. Is it not at least worth-while to suggest that the Christian way—the way shown in the thirteenth of John—should be tried? Has not the hour now come for calling upon people of good will in all countries to unite in the attempt to feed the starving and to repair the ravages of war?

It is possible that the main work of food-relief must remain an official concern, whether of UNRRA or of the Allied Military Control; but even in this sphere we are told of numbers of Dutch children, sent to this country for physical rehabilitation, who may have to be repatriated to Holland because there are not enough

By G. TREUHART

former representative of the Austrian "High School News Service" in Nazi Germany. The author represented the Austrian youth at the second World Youth Congress in Paris, 1937, and at the International Youth Conference in London, 1942.

On the road which led to this war and which is now leading to "peace" we have taken so many side turnings that we have lost sight of the high principles for which we entered the war. The Darlans and Badoglio have been exploited by Goebbels' propaganda to the German youth. The German character is sensitive. More than that of other nations it is more attracted by a political ideology. Even mass-deportations could not change the character of the whole nation.

To the German youth we must make clear that we are finished with the darkest chapter in world history, and that we are starting a new one—a chapter in which German youth is to play an equal role and can look forward to Olympic games, school and student exchanges and a full opportunity to re-educate themselves.

You cannot force them to read Heine and Goethe or Heinrich Mann and Emil Ludwig, but you can inspire them by ignoring Nazism. You will not only stop breeding the political evil of the past, but you will make them forget the past. They destroyed their own country, let them rebuild it. They destroyed their science, literature, art, and music, now let them re-create what they have lost.

This is not an attempt to justify Nazi criminals: but I am confident that only from the principle "live and let live" will come the right answer to the question "Is German youth doomed?"

## HOW THE YOUTH OF MANY LANDS COULD HELP TO RE-BUILD EUROPE IS SHOWN IN THIS ARTICLE BY JOHN S. HOYLAND

homes willing to welcome them in this country. Is not the welcoming and caring-for of such children—and later of children from other war-torn countries—a task which Christian people, and all people of good will, should regard as pressingly laid upon them.

But apart from problems of feeding, has not the time come for the organization of Work Camps of young people from many countries for the repair of war damage in country after country? Ample experience has been gained, especially by the International Voluntary Service for Peace and by members of the American Society of Friends, in the right running of such Work-Camps. If transport and visa difficulties at present prevent a beginning being made in such service on the Continent, are there not plenty of openings in (for instance) East London, where teams may be trained in filling bomb-craters, repairing damaged houses, etc.?

Such work should be undertaken here merely as a preparation for greatly enlarged service of a similar kind in many countries on the Continent. The work must be international—undertaken as a matter of principle by mixed teams of as many nations as possible, including Germans, for otherwise the enterprise will fail from the point of view of re-education. It must also be voluntary, and on a maintenance basis of remuneration only.

What seems to be needed at once is some efficient central body to undertake on a wide scale the organization of the preparations for such re-education and rehabilitation through good will service.

Later, there should be no Christian congregation in this country, and no group of forward-working people in any democratic movement, which has not got some of its members abroad in Europe, working in international teams at the task of repairing war-damage, and so attempting the re-education of mankind in the foundation-ideas of Christian civilization, which are humility, service and good will.



# IS PEACE NEWS "TOO POLITICAL"?

WE published on Feb. 9 a letter from Mr. and Mrs. Mottram as follows:

"We started taking Peace News from its first number. We worked for the PPU when it began, and greatly admired Dick Sheppard and all he stood for. Four years ago we gave up Peace News because it seemed to us to care for, and to dwell upon, more the political aspect of pacifism than the constructive aspect of pacifism which Dick Sheppard so emphatically stood for, namely, hating the sin but striving to love the sinner, be the sinner our own Government, a political party or the Germans."

"A few weeks ago we were given as a present a year's subscription to Peace News, and the donor made the remark, 'I'm told it's improved: that it is much less political and has not so much carping criticism—more back to the spirit of Dick Sheppard'. So far every number we have received seems to us as disappointingly acrimonious as ever."

"Do others feel as we do?"

We received 32 letters written in response to this challenge. That is a large number of letters for us to receive on any one subject: too large to permit the printing of a representative selection. Hence the undertaking to give a report of them. On the other hand, it is a small number when compared to the actual circulation of Peace News. Only 1 reader in every 560 was moved to express his opinion: so that the assumption that the opinions themselves are representative may be unfounded.

Of the 32 who are vocal, 10 support the Mottrams in their condemnation of Peace News, 20 oppose them; and 2 may be called neutral. One of these is inclined to be sympathetic with the criticisms, but makes agreement conditional on the Mottrams supplying PN with the kind of articles they would like it to contain. The other is haughtily and violently aloof, considering Peace News to be the work of "reactionary Fascist scum."

## Those who agree

Of the 10 correspondents who agree with the Mottrams three are content with a brief "100% endorsement"; the rest more or less elaborate the charge. But, on the whole, they are in unison. Peace News is "hypercritical," "carping and unconstructive," full of "Schadenfreude" and "maliciousness." One goes so far as to argue: "Surely at this stage the only sane course is to make every effort to bring the war to a speedy conclusion; and if pacifists can't help, they can at least do nothing to hinder."

The meaning of that rather surprising sentiment is established by a final sentence: "The Government has been very tolerant to pacifists: therefore pacifists ought to be very tolerant to the Government." This line of thought is, however, exceptional. Much more general is the contention that the hypercritical attitude of Peace News must antagonize those whom it seeks to persuade to pacifism.

Two of the ten consider that Peace News is not as a whole unsatisfactory; but that it is marred by "Observer's" Commentary. One of these merely complains that the prominence given to it makes the paper unrepresentative of "the wide philosophy of pacifism"; the other is more extreme

in both directions. Peace News, he says, is, in itself, an "oasis of sanity": but the serpent "Observer" pollutes the Garden of Eden.

## Faith and facts

Two others come nearer to formulating what I suspect to be the real cause of dissatisfaction. PN, says one, "should devote itself to broad-casting the pacifist point of view as applied to the circumstances as they exist from day to day." "Is it not essential," asks the other, "that a religious faith of hope and charity should be used and applied in the solution of all world problems as well as to solve personal problems?"

Behind these two statements is (I think) the belief that there must be a peculiar pacifist illumination which could be thrown upon political events, whereby they could be revealed as much more encouraging than they otherwise appear. I do not believe that such illumination is within human power; and I think it is an unsatisfactory and deceptive substitute that is proposed by the correspondent who writes: "I feel that a pacifist paper should not criticize at all, but concentrate on praising where praise can legitimately be given, and for the rest—silence."

## "Times have changed"

Of those who disagree with the Mottrams' criticism four take issue radically over the appeal to "the spirit of Dick Sheppard" as a criterion. "Times have changed," says one, "so necessarily must Peace News." "The Mottrams overlook," says another, "that 'the spirit of Dick Sheppard' evolved itself during a period when pacifism was relatively popular."

In so far as that spirit is defined as "hating the sin, but striving to love the sinner," another points out that Jesus himself, from whom this spirit is supposed to derive, was not sparing in fierce denunciation of "the good men" of his time. He called them "whited sepulchres, full of all uncleanness," and "a brood of vipers." Is he to be condemned as acrimonious, and lacking in the spirit of Dick Sheppard? "Do we find Jesus anywhere in the gospel," asks a fourth, "loving the Pharisee? It must indeed be much



JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

The replies received to a recent challenge to our readers to let us know what they think of the paper are here analysed by the Editor,

more exacting than loving the sinner." But the majority of the Mottrams' opponents are concerned to repudiate the charge that Peace News is "too political." One says he has been considering giving up the paper "because it is not political enough." To be political—the main argument runs—is the necessary consequence of trying to act in accordance with pacifist principles. Unless this necessity is accepted, Peace News must sink to the level of "the vague uplift of a parish magazine."

"How does one love a political party, a government or a nation?" another asks. "If our love is real it must be expressed in working towards justice for all—this is politics; and it involves hating the actions of groups and individuals which make for injustice. Making love a reality is politics."

Another directly controverts the suggestion that a critical attitude towards the political decisions and propaganda of the Government arouses hostility toward the pacifist message. "Pacifist ideals are not facts," he says, "but facts can persuade people to pacifism, if the inconsistencies, cant and humbug of nationalistic propaganda are exposed."

## No simple gospel

That it is a major part of the pacifist's duty to face realities and "win through to ultimates" is the theme of many letters. One in particular drives home the point by declaring that this is "the truly religious attitude." There is no simple gospel of pacifism, says another, because the moment you try to do something about it the simplicity disappears. He continues: "Before we can alter the world, it is first necessary to understand the structure and defects of the world as it is. Diagnosis must precede cure. But such realism is a rare thing nowadays; there are all too few journals which seek to promote a detached and informed judgment on current affairs. Peace News is pre-eminent among the few, and I cannot but feel that Dick Sheppard would have been proud of its courageous outspokenness during the past 5 years."

A letter with three signatories makes the point that there are many

## PUBLIC TESTIMONIAL TO GEORGE M. LI. DAVIES

A public Testimonial to George M. Li. Davies expressing "gratitude for his consecrated life" is being organized in Wales, sponsored by nearly thirty distinguished men and women.

"There is no one in Wales more loved and respected," says a statement they have issued. "He has served his day and generation with notable integrity. Having been granted a great vision of the Gospel, he has followed it unswervingly wherever it led him, without counting the cost. He left the secure paths of commerce and chose the rough road of the pioneer. This led him to the poor man's cottage and the nobleman's hall, to the unemployed men's club and to Parliament, to the pulpit and to prison, to the military camp and to the pacifist society, to the bishop's palace and to the atheist's home, to every corner of Wales and to many other lands. Everywhere he has enriched the spiritual life of those whom he met and strengthened their faith in the possibilities of man under Christ's guidance; and his mission everywhere was brotherhood and reconciliation."

"There are thousands all over the country who would wish to show their gratitude for his consecrated life and for what it has meant to them in these days when the faith of so many fails within them. We feel that they would be glad, as we are, of the opportunity of expressing their gratitude in a public Testimonial. Subscriptions are therefore invited to a Testimonial to be presented in the summer; they should be sent to Mr. R. E. Holland, "Glan-her," Dolwyddelan; or to Mr. Dan Thomas, "Uwchlyn," 161 Lake Road West, Cardiff, the Treasurers."

degrees of pacifism—"or love, for that matter"—in the movement; and it is impossible for Peace News completely to satisfy any individual member. Much the same point is vividly made by one who writes that he would be tempted to raise both hands in support of the Mottrams "but for the charity for which (I take it) they plead."

"Ours is a comprehensive movement," says another, "which has to aim at mutual understanding. I too find many articles too political for my taste; but I feel there is great value in trying to keep in touch with current affairs."

When the defenders of Peace News defend it for "being political," they evidently use the phrase as meaning to be interested in and concerned with politics in the broad sense—not in the narrower one of supporting any particular political party. Though it is not explicitly expressed by any correspondent, the requirement is that Peace News shall scrutinize the world of politics with reference to a moral criterion of its own.

What this moral criterion is, is difficult to elicit. But it seems to have little connexion with any specifically pacifist conviction. Much rather it appears to be based on a belief in the salutariness of truth, or the honest effort to attain it, as making for peace. Perhaps the current of this opinion comes nearest to being voiced in the letter which says: "It is the duty of all of us to know far more than hitherto the international aspect of affairs" and goes on to quote from the remarkable Papal message last Christmas Eve:

"The war-stricken multitudes are convinced that the world would not have been dragged into war if they had had the power to criticize and amend the actions of the Governments; and that a recurrence of the catastrophe can only be averted if they are guaranteed such powers."

## DEMONSTRATE ON MAY DAY

Glasgow supporters are urged to participate in the ANTI-WAR PROCESSION (assemble at Cochrane Street at 1.30 p.m.)

## UNDER BANNER OF THE UNITED PEACE CAMPAIGN

### DOROTHY EVANS MEMORIAL FUND

Private presentation of the Winifred Holtby film

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## A German poet tells how Dresden perished

Gerhart Hauptman, the German poet, who was staying with his wife in Dresden when it was bombed, gave the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung his impressions of the end of this beautiful town. Here it is, as quoted by a German radio station on Apr. 6:

THOSE who had forgotten how to weep learnt it again when Dresden perished. This bright morning star of youth gave its light to the world. I lived through Dresden's death under the Sodom and Gomorrah of British and US aircraft.

It still seems a miracle to me that I came through it alive. I do not have such a high opinion of myself as to think that fate deliberately reserved this horror for me in that part of the world which is perhaps dearest to me. I am at the close of my life and I envy my dead colleagues who were spared this experience.

I am weeping. One should not be shocked by that word. The greatest heroes of the past, including Pericles, were not ashamed of it. From Dresden, from its delightful, well-balanced musical and literary culture, streams have flowed out through the world, and Britain and the USA have quenched their thirst at them. Have they forgotten this?

I am nearly 85 and I stand before God with a heartfelt, but alas, a powerless prayer that He may even more than before love, purify and enlighten mankind for its salvation.



# A.G.M. discusses the past year's work

**THE STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE** appointed consisted of Frank Dawtry, Bert Tavener, Audrey Jupp and John Morley. **THE CHAIRMAN REPORTED MESSAGES FROM** Irene Barclay, who was making good progress after an operation, and from John Middleton Murry, whose operation on the previous day had been successful. The meeting sent its good wishes for a speedy recovery to both and to Arthur Ponsonby.

## Points from reports

**ALL** the reports were adopted, and the following are some of the points that emerged during question and discussion:

**GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT.**—**Membership:** Mr. Wilmot, E. Midland Area Secretary, commented on the involved state of the membership file, and said that, after all the work done, the movement still had no accurate figure. The E. Midland Area suggested a nominal subscription as a condition of membership in order that an accurate figure might be obtained.

It was suggested by the Chairman that this was the kind of suggestion that ought to be fully discussed before coming to AGM.

**Development:** In reply to Harold Bing (Brockwell) Donald Port said the Committee thought the figures for the 7,000 signatories checked during the year were probably fairly typical of the position all over the country.

**Mr. Hope-Gill (Alton)** hoped that during the coming year we should obtain more personal contact in development work and less concentration with groups.

Donald Port said that the development of local centres of organization was intended to increase possibilities of contact for individuals.

**Bookshop:** In reply to a question the General Secretary said they had obtained a permit for opening a new bookshop, but there had been a hitch in obtaining the expected premises.

In reply to questions, the General Secretary explained that there would be an emphasis on books dealing with peace and war, and within that category the emphasis would be on pacifist books.

**Study:** James Avery Joyce suggested that a small group of people with experience in this field should be at the disposal of the IISO Committee, and that the study programme should be linked up with outside educational bodies. Donald Port explained that it was not

## Emergency resolutions

**THE** following emergency resolutions were carried by the AGM on Sunday morning:

1. "That the PPU should bind itself to do everything possible to help the 44 German COs found in a concentration camp."

2. "This AGM of the PPU condemns the policy of 'unconditional surrender' as largely responsible for the misery and chaos which are rapidly overwhelming a great part of Europe, and declares its conviction that no settlement can work unless based, not on the punishment of any allegedly guilty parties, but on the rehabilitation of all the peoples of Europe on the ground of our equal and common humanity."

3. "This Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union, believing that freedom to express, discuss, and read all points of

view is an inalienable right, calls for the removal of all legal restrictions upon such liberty and urges that the sentences passed upon three members of Freedom Press should be quashed forthwith."

The meeting also adopted this message to pacifists in other countries:

"This AGM of the PPU sends greetings to all pacifists in other countries. It wishes to assure them of the admiration with which it has received news of the continued resistance to war in many countries, and of the encouragement which such reports have brought to pacifists in the British Isles. The members of the Union pledge themselves to work for peace with renewed energy. They look forward to the day when friendship among pacifists in the different countries can be renewed. Until then, they send warm greetings."

desired to duplicate work done by other bodies, Scott Bayliss stressed the movement's need of study if it was to be effective.

**Negotiated Peace Campaign:** Frank Maitland (NE Area) moved the reference back of this section. He said there had been opposition to the campaign inside the movement, and it had fizzled out. It ought to have continued either separately or as a specific job of the Public Action Committee.

Harry Hilditch, replying, explained that there was no question of the work which was started by the Negotiated Peace Campaign having ceased under the Public Action Committee. The reference back was lost by an overwhelming majority.

**National Peace Council Petition:** Mr. Barton (Bridgewater) suggested that nothing striking had been forthcoming in the way of HQ directive or in PN. There was applause for a speaker who suggested the movement was wasting its time on petitions. Something different must be tried. Sybil White (Kilmarnock) said the Petition had been too involved.

**Indian Freedom Campaign:** Sidney Conbeer

(Isle of Wight) said that the PPU membership as a whole was not sufficiently combatting imperialism as a main cause of war.

**Youth:** The General Secretary moved, on behalf of National Council, that the membership age should be reduced to 16.

John Barclay, supporting the motion, said the quality of discussion at youth meetings had been very high. He thought the age of 16 should be thought of in terms of 18 some years ago.

Scott Bayliss (Woodford), opposing the motion, said he would be disquieted if we encouraged young people of 16 to commit themselves to a pledge which even for older people was a dubious thing.

The Chairman pointed out that under the present practice the General Secretary had discretion to accept the signatures of young people in cases in which he was satisfied. Lady Mayer suggested the formation of a junior section which would not have to take the pledge.

After further discussion the National Council motion was lost. The Chairman giving an assurance that Council would consider the alternative provisions for young people which had been suggested.

**Military Conscription:** Sidney Conbeer said the first step towards world disarmament was to put up a strong opposition to post-war conscription in this country. Let them not be in any doubt at all that there was going to be post-war conscription.

Harold Bing pointed out that, as pacifists in a country not traditionally conscript we had a responsibility to give a lead to other countries where the task would be more difficult.

**Industrial Conscription:** Sidney Conbeer said the wording suggested the Council were not clear about the objection to pressure by unemployment benefit. He thought the PPU could support any form of planning provided it ensured the essential freedoms.

The Chairman pointed out that the statement endorsed by Council had been to groups for discussion and represented the highest level of agreement on the subject at present.

## A bookstall record

The record sum of £104 8s. 4d. was taken at the PPU Bookstall during the week-end. Last year's figure, £53 5s. 2d., was in itself a record figure for an annual meeting.



THE CHAIRMAN

*Dr. Alex Wood, who received a great ovation when Sybil Morrison moved a vote of thanks to him at the end of the AGM. She spoke of his wise guidance of the Union during the years of the war, with the many difficulties they had brought. Dr. Wood, replying, said he felt we were moving into a situation where the PPU ought to have youth at the helm.*

**National Council for Civil Liberties:** In answer to questions, the Chairman explained that the Civil Liberty Vigilance Committee was a watching committee which brought pressure to bear on the NCCL in cases where it was needed, and said it had had useful results.

**Defence Regulation 1A(a):** The General Secretary made a verbal addendum to his report to the effect that a copy of the emergency resolution passed at the 1944 AGM had been sent to the Minister of Labour and to MPs opposing anti-strike legislation, and that other organizations were informed of the Union's readiness to take joint action.

Bernard Taylor (London Area) complained of the absence of further action on the matter.

**PEACE NEWS, Editor's report:** Ald. E. C. Maddever (Liskeard) deplored a tendency towards the Right in both "Observer's" Commentary and in signed articles, which were excessively anti-Russian. A. C. Laud (Hull) thought there was not enough Stop-the-War material in the paper, nor was the pacifist moral drawn often enough.

A Bournemouth delegate wanted "more ginger" in order to get across to the public, but another critic thought there was already too much political comment, instead of pacifist philosophy and news of pacifist service. Other

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)



*SOME OF THE AREA REPRESENTATIVES ON PPU NATIONAL COUNCIL. Left to right: Geoffrey Pittock-Buss, Dennis Davies, Vernon Cutting, Campbell Wilkie, Frank Sayer, Alistair Steven, Alex Wood (chairman), Tom Wolff, Bill Roberts. (Photo: Jack Mayes.)*

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

### PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

**LATEST TIME** for copy: Monday before publication.

**TERMS:** Cash with order. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

### ACCOMMODATION

**WELL-FURNISHED** bed-sitter, some companionship, professional class home, offered educated lady. Bromley, Kent. Write fully Box 930.

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**WAR RESISTERS' International** would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

**H. E. G. FERRIS, F.I.Cyc.T.** for New Cycles, Overhauls, Brazing, Stove Enamelling, Gear and Wheel Specialist. 257 Bath Rd., Hounslow, Middx. Tel. HOU 3889.

**PROJECTORS, microscopes, binoculars, etc.,** for sale and wanted. Mention "Peace News." Appleton, 141 Middleham Rd., N.18.

**FANCY JEWELLERY,** ideal for bazaar, etc., ear clips, caroled, silver plated, various colours, 21s. per dozen, sample 2s. Victory bangles, modern style, attractive, 24s. per doz., sample 2s. 6d. Chrome necklace crosses, small 2s. 6d. dozen, large 3s. 6d. dozen, no chains. Rumbelow, 22 Woodward Rd., S.E.22.

### LITERATURE, etc.

**QUAKERISM.** Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

**BOOKS ON PSYCHOLOGY,** philosophy, theology, mysticism, liturgy, politics, pacifism, fiction, etc. No callers. Monthly lists 2jd. stamp. Kingdom Books, East Mersea, Colchester, Essex.

**BELSEN CONCENTRATION CAMP.** Read highly relevant "Fighting Fascism" (Ronald Mallone); "Free Thoughts on Freedom" (Christopher Worrall); Poetry; "Your M.P." (Reginald Dale); "World's Jigsaw" (Jennie Ellinger); Cartoon. 6d. "Christian Party News-Letter," 30 Darby Rd., Oldbury, Birmingham.

**CHRISTIAN PACIFISTS:** You have realized the churches are unchristian when they support war: have you considered whether their other doctrines are sound? Write to Christadelphian, 28 West Rd., Bedford, Middx., for free book "Christendom Astray."

**PENTAGON PRESS** announces a topical overhaul of Peace symbolism: "The Coming of Peace," by J.M.; striking cover by Maxwell Armfield, R.W.S. Stiff paper: one shilling; Booksellers or 50 Alexandra Rd., S.W.19.

### MEETINGS, etc.

**DOROTHY EVANS** Memorial Fund: two functions. (1) Sat. May 5, 6.30-9.30, Caxton Hall (Court Room), S.W.1; Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Emil Davies, Rebecca Sieff, Edith Summerskill, and others will receive friends and subscribers to the fund; Tickets, including refreshments, 3s. 6d., from D.E.M.C., 14 Dartmouth St., S.W.1. (2) Sun., May 6—see advert, page 4.

**SOCIETY OF FRIENDS,** 404 Camden Rd., N.7, May 6, 6.30 p.m. "Quakers and Pacifism," Eric Tucker. Discussion. All welcome.

**MANCHESTER.** East Didsbury Group. You are invited to a Public Meeting on May 12 at 7 p.m. in the Methodist Schoolroom, Chapel St., Didsbury (alongside the M. & S. Co-op.). Subject, "A New Nation for a New World." Speaker, Hugh J. Schonfeld.

**LONDON FORUM.** Director Frederick Lohr. Public Lecture by Janko Lavrin, on "The Idea of Personality in Ibsen's Work." Mon., May 7, at 7.30, at The Chanticleer Theatre, Clareville St., South Kensington.

**NORBURY.** 99 Norbury Court Rd., S.W.16. Mon., May 14, at 7.45 p.m. Mark Hayler on "My Travels Abroad."

**CAN WE HAVE Full Employment with Civil Liberty?** Your questions answered by Miss F. L. Josephy, Mrs. Mary Stocks, W. L. Duthie, Tom Wintringham, Fenner Brockway; Question-master, Christine R. Taylor. Conway Hall, May 16, 6.30 p.m. Tickets 3s. 6d., 2s., from Women for Westminster, 14 Dartmouth St., S.W.1, or at door.

**Bournemouth Post-War Reconstruction Group,** 5 Wellington Rd., Fri., May 11, 7.30 p.m. Walter Martin: "What Are We Doing for Old People?" (Chairman: Alderman Jabez Richards.)

**STREATHAM P.P.U.** Public meeting, May 9, 7.30, 260 Streatham High Rd., S.W.16. Rhys Davies, M.P. "Will the Peace Last?"

**NORTH LONDON REGION** quarterly meeting. Mon., May 7, at 7.45 p.m., Corder Catchpool is speaking at Edmonton Independent Church, Knight's Lane, N.9.

**NORTH LONDON Freedom Discussion Group.** Tues., May 8, J. Humphrey, "Evolution of the Brain." Adult School, Palmers Rd., opp. Arncliffe Tube, at 7.30 p.m.

### PERSONAL

**SMALL** restaurant supper parties. Heard/Huxley Group (some of), and interested public (some of). No strings. Bragg, 105a Tulse Hill, S.W.2.

### CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE

**CLUB.** A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN, 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff. **CIRCLE OF artistic, philosophical people** who meet to walk and talk London and Weybridge, week-ends, invite additions. Box 912.

**ADVERTISER (QUAKER)** seeks pacifist partner now (Quaker preferred) with capital for post-war shop, etc. Box 931.

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We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

**MEN WANTED** for timber hauling with caterpillar tractors and E.R.F. articulated pole wagons. J. P. Williams, Gobowen, Salop.

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**RESIDENT ORGANIZING SECRETARY** required for Youth House. Community and international club for over 18s with cultural, social etc., activities. Particulars and application form from Organizing Secretary, Youth House, 250 Camden Rd., N.W.1.

**RESIDENT STAFF MEMBERS** required with knowledge of vegetarian cooking and/or housekeeping experience for young people's community and club. Salary, board and single divan room. Particulars of experience, National Service position, etc., to Organizing Secretary, Youth House, 250 Camden Rd., N.W.1.

**SKILLED TIMBER-FELLER** requires a mate. Box 933.

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**C.B.C.O.** Employment Section, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, would like to hear of vacancies for gardeners in schools, hostels, etc., especially those where family accom. is available and opportunity for teaching gardening or other work with children occurs.

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**C.O. SEEKS WORK** on school or market garden. Four yrs. land experience. Unfurnished accommodation. Good references. Box 936.

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**COPPIN BROS.** Mortgage and Insurance Brokers. Special terms of insurance to cover "Halifax" and "Co-operative" Building Society mortgages. Advice and quotations gratis. S.A.E. please. 66 Henley Rd., Ilford, Essex.



## FRESH START IN INDIA?

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

The typhus-louse does not recognize national frontiers.

### Wavell's visit

IT would be a thousand pities if the fateful war news were to divert official attention from the movements of Lord Wavell in London. India may soon be the only country left to be "liberated."

Wavell has now spent upwards of five weeks in London. The unprecedented length of such absence from India by a serving Viceroy, together

sphere has become poisoned. Ranjit Chetsingh reports in The Friend (Apr. 13) that even at Mr. Gandhi's ashram at Sevagram it is "one of frustration and despair." He adds that "most people in India"—not merely the "agitators."

"have now come to believe that in dealing with Britain appeals to abstract principles, logic, or idealism are not fruitful... This development does represent a revision of India's estimate of the British politician... probably more in keeping with the facts."

The writer explains the return of Congress to offices of provincial responsibility as a tactical stemming from this revision.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the "Frontier Gandhi," has told the Hindustan Times that Congress had not undertaken to abate its opposition to the war in taking office in the NW Frontier Province. And Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Congress leader in the Legislative Assembly, put the real situation to that body succinctly:

"It is no use pretending that the war has got to be run and therefore this Bill has got to be passed. The Government will find the means by exaction or extortion or by any means they can... If you want to fight the war get money from your own country; but don't extract it from me."

It begins to look as though (pace Mr. Amery) Congress has to be dealt with as a self-respecting, impatient national body. And Congress' intention to expel the Communists who support what they term a "People's War" and the dissolution of the Congress Socialist Party, taken together, look as though Congress is determined to unify itself.

This could be a prelude to renewed struggle—or a prelude to responsibility in office. Each day that the prisoners are held makes the former more probable.

### Manoeuvres at 'Frisco

AT San Francisco the situation continues to be dominated by the Polish issue, although The Observer on Sunday suggested that underlying this was a desire by Russia to drop the Yalta conception of "joint responsibility" of all the great Powers in all spheres in Europe, and to return to the plan (credited to the earlier Teheran conference) of clear-cut spheres of interest.

M. Molotov's line at San Francisco and Stalin's policy in Austria tend to confirm this interpretation. But Britain and America show no sign of being prepared to throw the Yalta agreement overboard. Mr. Stettinius is even believed to have "told M. Molotov that discussions on wider issues—such as economic co-operation between the United States and Russia after the war—would have to be suspended until the Polish crisis had been satisfactorily solved." (The Observer, Apr. 29.)

### Freedom Press Defence Campaign plans

FOLLOWING a four-day trial three anarchists associated with Freedom Press (Vernon Richards, John Hewetson, and Philip Sansom) were each sentenced at the Old Bailey last Friday to nine months' imprisonment on a charge under Defence Regulation 39A of intending to incite to disaffection members of the Forces. The fourth defendant, Marie Louise Berneri, was found not guilty.

The Freedom Press Defence Committee is embarking on a campaign whose object will be to demand the release of the prisoners, the repeal of all regulations affecting the freedom of speech and writing, and the abolition of the political police.

Funds are still required to meet the legal expenses of the victims, and also to finance the campaign. They should be sent to The Treasurer, Freedom Press Defence Committee, 17 George St., Hanover Sq., London, W.1.

A series of public meetings, addressed by prominent speakers, is being arranged as part of the campaign.

## Commentary

with the members of his Council who have followed him here, lends credence to reports that he is urging a new political initiative upon Amery and Churchill. His great opportunity will certainly have been lost (as Stuart Gelder points out in the News Chronicle, Apr. 24) "if he returns without authority to release Pandit Nehru and his colleagues, and reopen negotiations."

And this is, indeed, the crux of the matter. It is of little use for the Earl of Listowel to say:

"This devolution of the last vestige of political power from Britain to India should be conceded as soon as it is humanly possible." (Daily Herald, Apr. 23.)

This is an excerpt from a whole speech such as no Under-Secretary for India has made in living memory. But what use are such cooling noises now? How soon is it "humanly possible" to get Nehru, Azad, and the other leaders out of captivity?

### Indian atmosphere

IT had better be soon, for we must recognize how the political atmo-

### Stuart Morris accepts P.P.U. post

Stuart Morris has accepted the position of speaker with part of his time devoted to the Peace Pledge Union. He will speak on behalf of the War Resisters' International and the PPU.

Invitations to speak, which he will be glad to receive, should be sent to him c/o Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

### "Re-affirm our faith"

TO THE EDITOR

Bearing in mind the report on the Buchenwald and other prison camps and realizing the evil thing now "officially" uncovered and appreciating that similar reports and pictures could be produced of conditions existing anywhere (not excluding the British Empire) where military values are supreme over human ones, we feel the PPU, through its National Council should re-affirm its belief in the essential goodness and decency of the common people in all lands.

IDA HILLMAN

(Bournemouth)

K. LESLIE HOWE

(Stoke-on-Trent)

At the P.P.U. Annual General Meeting.

Apr. 29.

Owing to very heavy pressure on space many other letters have had to be held over.—Ed.

## P.P.U. annual meeting report

speakers felt that Peace News had paid a bouquet to Vansittartism and that articles which appeared to throw doubt on the efficacy of pacifism should not appear.

P. Millwood (Hastings) thought the paper well-written but badly edited, particularly in having an appeal for funds on the front page.

A speaker from Lincoln thought the language of the paper was not intelligible to the ordinary reader. Other speakers urged the need for a second paper to act as a house-organ.

Jack Cowling (Asst. Editor), in reply, thought it very desirable that we should appeal to the world as a body unafraid to discuss policy differences in public, as evidence of our belief in democracy—even if we ever had two papers, which would meet some of the difficulties. To those who felt that Russia should not be criticized we must explain patiently that our purpose was to restore a balance. It was quite impossible to reconcile completely the conflicting demands for more "philosophy" with those for more "Man-in-the-Street" material.

Managing Director's report: Answering questions on accounts, Alan Staniland said that owing to the late audit no detailed comments were possible, but it was likely that we had reduced our profits. Part of the paper's service to the Union lay in subsidizing general pacifist propaganda.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL: Some speakers expressed appreciation of the work of the W.R.I., but others asked in what genuine sense it was an "International." Fred Barton (Stretford) thought it was out of touch with pacifists generally, and Dennis Allen was critical of the public relations of WRI when private action had failed. Other

critics asked if the WRI Council met and what relief work it was sponsoring.

H. Runham Brown, replying, recalled the constitutional history of the WRI from its 1925 Conference. PPU was to blame for ignorance of its work. It once gave half an hour at AGM to hear about it, but now even this was crowded out. A proposed invitation to some non-British COs to this AGM had been rejected by PPU. The balance sheet of the WRI would be sent to anyone on application.

In the case of the most recent Hollander CO, which had been raised critically, WRI were of the opinion that it was unwise to raise it in public. The man had requested WRI alone to deal with his affairs. After several months' solitary confinement he had been transported back to Holland. The Dutch Government had a perfect legal right to do so, though the WRI were still watching the case.

With regard to relief work, WRI relief workers were already operating in various

### What the P.P.U. stands for

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the PPU: "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

If, after reading Peace News, you would like to know more about the Peace Pledge Union, write for information to: The General Secretary, Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

## Liberated - into misery

### A pacifist describes what he saw in Holland

The following description of conditions in liberated Holland is from Leonard Parker, who, before joining the Friends Ambulance Unit in 1943, was secretary of the Burnley group of the Peace Pledge Union.

He is now in charge of the registration department at a Military Government's Displaced Persons Assembly Centre on the Western Front.

He says the facts in his report are only to what he has seen himself and that it is difficult to know what is happening elsewhere.

THE process of liberation has devastated some of the villages and towns almost beyond repair—rather like a desperate surgical operation which leaves the patient too shocked to survive. In liberated Holland there is no Gestapo, no shooting of hostages, no fear of being sent to do forced labour in Germany; but liberation has meant the bombing of Dutch villages and the loss of Dutch lives.

I remember a little village (not far from Roermond) which had suffered a visit from the RAF. Most people are familiar with the results of bombing, but when the majority of the houses in an isolated community are destroyed, with no ARP organization and no doctor available, the situation is pitiable in the extreme.

The nuns had done their best to convert what was left of the convent into a receiving station for casualties. We arrived with two ambulances, and were shown into a dark room (all the windows were out, and had been replaced by boards) where we eventually made out the forms of the wounded lying on stretchers on the floor. The place was heavy with the stench of putrid wounds. The bodies of the dead were lying in a nearby room, until they could be disposed of.

### Wholesale destruction

What we were doing seemed pitifully inadequate when we saw the wholesale destruction around us. And this was liberation! The villagers told us that there were only fifteen German soldiers quartered there when the attack was made.

The food situation is not substantially different from what it was during the occupation, but it is easier to live on small rations when there is hope for the future. At the root of the trouble is the absence of almost any form of mechanical transport (and the roads are full of army vehicles)—poverty in the midst of plenty—as with the food too, of course. The people were told for so long by the BBC that the armies of liberation would bring stocks of food with them that their disappointment can be understood.

We undertook a survey of school-children in about twenty schools in

the district. All are suffering from malnutrition, so that one had to add two year's to one's first estimate of the age of a class of children in the nine-to-fifteen-years group.

Reports as to conditions in still occupied Holland vary. Some speak of people being reduced to eating tulip bulbs; (this may be true. I spoke to a woman recently, who had just come through the German lines. One potato, she said, would fetch a shilling on the black market). I have heard that the daily food ration in Amsterdam consists of two slices of bread and two potatoes. This may or may not be the case; conditions here in the liberated part of Holland are by no means as bad as we feared.

Conscription has now been introduced in liberated Holland, and we often see the new recruits driving off in lorry-loads. Most of them, if not all, are destined for the Dutch East Indies. Four years of occupation followed by three years military service—what a prospect!

### Same in Germany

And what of Germany? My own experience extends only to one or two villages around Heinsberg (north of Aachen). It was the same scene of destruction and misery. I remember a woman of about fifty, sitting in the dug-out they had constructed as a shelter, outside their farm-dwelling, and saying, "We have lost everything, everything. The (German) army came and took everything away."

A Red Cross nurse and I went to another German village to see a girl with tonsillitis. After we had examined her, the other members of the family asked us to see them too—the usual shell-wounds and scabies, which we treated as best we could. Their gratitude was profound.

Here, as in Holland, soap is a rarity, and the curious substitute is completely inadequate, both as to quantity and quality. So scabies and other skin diseases are common.

But amid all this madness and barbarism, it is heartening to find from personal experience, what no propaganda now can shake, that there are people bearing patiently, courageously, and with acts of kindness, the experience that the folly of their own governments has unleashed upon them—an experience so like, only now so much worse than, our own.

### Appeal to advertisers

We shall be glad if the advertisers in recent issues of PN, whose advertisements carried Box numbers 839, 885, 887, and 888 will communicate with the Peace News Office without delay.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

### THE BRITISH PEOPLE STOPPED A WAR

An account of the 1920 strike against intervention in Russia

by DONALD PORT

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